B10574

The two State

MARTYRS,

OR,

The Murther of Master ROBERT YEOMANS, and Master GEORGE BOWCHER Citizens of *Bristoll.*

Committed on them by *Nathaniel Fiennes* (second Sonne to the Lord *Say*) the pretended Governour of that City, and the rest of his conspiracie, whom some call a Councell of Warre.

PSAL. 94. 20. 21.

Wilt thou have any thing to do with the stoole of wickednesse which imagineth mischief as a Law? They gather themselves together against the Soul of the Righteous, and condemn the Innocent bloud.

Printed in the Yeer *M. DC. XLIII.*

The two State-Martyrs.

IGnorance to what we ſhould aſcribe that fatall Lethargie, that hath ſealed up our eyes and benumm'd the hearts of the men of this Nation, not to feel and ſhake off that Iron yoak of bondage which ſome men (to whom in a blind obedience, they have reſigned up their underſtandings, and with their underſtandings their wealth and power) have layed upon them, is no ſmall part of that Calamity under which we groan. Amongſt other cauſes of this ſtupidity and Ignoble ſloth (Tempers unknowne to our Anceſtors, and are proper onely to us their degenerous poſterity) two are moſt obvious: *Firſt* the wrath of God, which for our ſins hath made us like *Ephraim, a ſilly Dove without a heart,* Hoſea 7. *having our ſtrength devoured, and we heed it not:* For could it poſſibly be imagined, that a Nation ſo formidable as the world have found and eſteemed us, ſhould thus ſuffer either our God to be diſhonoured in his worſhip, our King robb'd of his power and revenews, our Lawes of their influence and vigour, and our owne lives, liberties, and properties to be invaded by a prevailing faction of Atheiſts and Rebellious Seiſmaticks, and yet ſtand as men amazed in an unprofitable aſtoniſhment, as if the *people within us were women,* heartleſſe, had not God in his juſt anger taken away our hearts, and damp't our ſpirits within us? The *ſecond* is the weakneſſe and impotency of our nature prone to ſinke and plunge it ſelfe into a confeſſed deſtruction, rather then retract or ingenuouſly acknowledge an *Errour* in *that* which Nahum. 3. 13.

we have once inconsiderately and unadvisedly taken upon us to defend: And certainly this last, though little heeded, hath no small influence on that slow pace which the men of this besotted Nation make to the recovery of that peace and happinesse which they formerly injoyed under the righteous Government of a gracious and Religious King.

The Hypocriticall carriage, the frequent but perfunctory fastings, appearance of holinesse, affected austerity, counterfeit mortification, and deep dissembled humility of the Sectaries of this Church, (and all these artificially personated) did so prevaile, not onely with the *vulgus*, the credulous multitude, who are apt to be deceived with shadows insteed of substances, but even with men of better insight, that the Nation was led Captive to beleeve, that certainly all Religion dwelt with them: and if the primitive zeale, integrity, and devotion of Christians did yet remaine in this decrepit aged world, they had all taken up their habitation in them: Nay, the hardest that men of sound understanding conceived of them, was often expressed in the charity and candor of *Lactantius*, *O quàm honestâ voluntate miseri sunt! with how good a meaning these poore soules did erre*: Insomuch if any of them by order of Law did suffer condigne and deserved punishment for offences scandalous or criminall: If they have bled at the eare, or the *red* had gone over the *fooles back*; what an outcry did the people make, as if Religion were wounded through their sides, or Saint *Steven* himselfe a second time did suffer Martyrdome? In a word, if the Ministers of the Gospell did in their Sermons or discourses but endeavour to unmask their Hypocrisie, and take this borrowed vizard from off their faces, and represent them in their true colours to the people: If the Bishops and governours of the Church endeavoured to withstand this growing evill, as knowing that if their Faction prevailed they would grow dangerous and formidable both to

Church

Church and State, they were all cried down as enemies to Religion, defamers and persecuters of the Children of God and the great promoters and advocates of Romish superstition: and though the world at this day see and are throughly convicted by too sad experience that this was true, and are fully perswaded that they made use of a pretended shew of godlinesse, denying the power thereof, thereby to make the easier way to their disloyall treasonable intentions, yet they are afraid openly to confesse it, as if such an ingenuous acknowledgement would call in question their discretions being once otherwise perswaded: Insomuch that they that could open their mouthes wide against that Authority that drew bloud but at a Schismaticks *nose* or *eare*, farre enough from the vitall parts, now stand dumbe and speechlesse to see the same Faction murther their fellow Subjects, shed rivers of Christian bloud, and think their hands no lesse then sanctified by a mercylesse slaughter of their Innocent Brethren.

The care that God took to preserve the land of his people undefiled by Innocent bloud, was very great; and therefore did provide not only when the *murtherer* was known that he that shed mans bloud, by man his bloud should be shed againe, according to that command, *Ye shall not pollute the Land where ye are: for bloud it defileth the Land, and the Land cannot be cleansed of the bloud that is shed therein, but by the bloud of him that shed it: Numb.* 35. 33. But likewise where the murtherer was not *known*, that the innocent bloud shed in the Land might not be charged upon them: and therefore in the 21 of *Deut.* God prescribes an Expiation for murther when the murtherer was *not* known, for if a man were found slain in the field, The Elders of the City *next to the slain man* were to take *an Heifer and strike off his neck in a rough valley, and shall wash their hands over the Heifer: and say, Our hands have not shed this bloud, Neither have*

our eyes seen it: Be mercifull, O Lord, unto thy people Israel whom thou hast redeemed, and lay not innocent bloud unto thy people of Israels charge: and the bloud shall be forgiven them: so shalt thou put away the guilt of Innocent bloud from among you, ver. 6, 7, 8, &c. In which law it is plain, that the guilt of *Innocent bloud* may cleave to our hands, though our hands have not shed it; and the way to wash our hands clean from that guilt, is, to protest against the shedding it, to deny our consent to it, being done, and as much as in us lies to bring the punishment of Innocent bloud upon the heads of those that shed it: without this we contract anothers guilt and communicate in his sins. The Innocent bloud shall not be forgiven us: when therefore God, to whom *appertain the issues of Life*, shall come and make *Inquisition* for bloud, and the murthered shall cry out with *Iob*, *O Earth cover not thou my bloud*; *Iob* 16. 18. That then we may lift up pure hands undefiled with our Neighbours bloud, though but with consent and approbation. Nay, that we may free our selves from the bloud of all men by earnest prayer to God not to lay innocent bloud, though shed by others, to our charge. To inflame your devotion, I have as it were brought forth the bodies of these two state *Martyrs*, Master *Robert Yeomans*, and Master *George Boucher* Citizens of *Bristoll*, and exposed them to the view of the world, that so shedding some *teares* over their graves, they may remain an Everlasting Monument of our *Innocency* in the sight of God, of our *just indignation* against such cruelty in the sight of men, and a sweet ointment to imbalme these men to their Funerals, that though with their Saviour (the ignominy of whose Crosse sanctified the death even of the accursed tree) in their death they were *numbred amongst the transgressours*, yet (Loyalty being their Epitaph) they may *make their graves amongst the Honourable*.

But because to blind the eyes of the world not to see

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the cruell Injuſtice practiſed on thoſe worthy Citizens, to amaze the mindes of the people, and to take off from the odiouſneſſe of ſo fowle a Murther, they have not onely in their lying Pamphlets proclaimed it unto the world, that Maſter *Venner*, Maſter *Boucher*, and ſome other well affected members of that City had contrived a horrid Treaſon, that in the barbarouſneſſe of it did out-do the Powder Treaſon, having conſpired at once to ruine the Proteſtant Religion, and to Murther all thoſe of that City which did adhere to the Parliament, but alſo to mock God, (to that height of impiety they are grown) ſolemn thanks were ordained to be given for deliverance from ſo dangerous a conſpiracy: it will not be amiſſe to derive this Tragedie by way of Hiſtoricall Narration from the firſt to the laſt Scene: that ſo the abuſed world may ſee what arts are uſed on that ſide to poſſeſſe themſelves of the good opinion of men, that in the mean time they may practiſe cruelties unheard of, untill the bloody Anabaptiſts ſprung up the moſt pernicious weeds that ever infeſted the Church of Chriſt.

After the King was ſate down at his Winter-Quarter in *Oxford*, and had given Sufficient Teſtimony to the world by the two glorious Victories which God gave him at *Edgehill*, and *Braineford*, that his Forces were not ſo contemptible as the Lord *Say* reported them, who to ingage the people of *Oxfordſhire* in Rebellion, did at a publique meeting at *Woodſtock*, proteſt upon his honour, *That the King had neither Men, nor Money, nor Arms, but the Parliament had all theſe.* Men generally began to conſider not onely what might be the iſſue of two powerfull Armies, more equally poiſed then at firſt they thought them; which was the Conſideration of worldly Politicians, but likewiſe on what warrantable grounds the Parliament proceeded to take up offenſive Arms againſt their undoubted Soveraign: and this was the Conſideration of every Conſcientious Chriſtian. This laſt

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point taken into debate, and ſtrictly ſcann'd by the word of God and the fundamentall Laws of this Kingdom, did alienate the affections and aſſiſtance of many men from the Parliament before wholy devoted to them, not being able to concurre with them without wounding their conſcience, nor knowing how to Juſtifie their undertakings by the Laws of God or Man.

When this Parliament firſt ſate, theſe Gentlemen, with the reſt of the Kingdom, rejoyced to ſee that day, and ſtood at gaze as greedily as any, expecting what acts of bounty, what relief from grievances our Gracious Soveraign through their hands would convey unto his ſubjects. While their endevours were Loyall, though roughly carryed, while bounded within the duty of Subjects, though onely not exceeding it, they were as forward to applaud them as any: but after the publication of the *Remonſtrance* by the Houſe of Commons (that appeale to the people, and indeed the ground-work of this preſent Rebellion by ſlandering the Kings government), they that went one mile with them would not be compell'd to go two, eſpecially after the way appeared dangerous, and apparently leading to open Rebellion: *Nullam eſſe Civitatem quæ non improbos Cives aliquando & Imperitam Multitudinem ſemper habeat*: was the ſaying of the *Rhodii* in the *Roman Senate* recorded by *Livy lib.* 45. There is no City but hath ſometimes ſome ill affected Citizens, but alwayes an Ignorant multitude; perhaps this in part might be the temper of *Briſtoll* at this time: but the Criticall time was now come, in which men muſt declare themſelves either for the King or againſt him; and though many men in that City then were and ſtill are deeply Leavened with diſloyall principles, yet the major part of the City were, and ſtill are the Kings faithfull Subjects; of this party the moſt eminent men were, Maſter *Robert Yeomans* Sheriffe of *Briſtoll* laſt yeer, Maſter *George Bowcher*, with

divers

divers others, men of good esteem, plentifull estates, known integrity, and true Children of the Church of *England*; These men seeing the miserable Condition of those places where the Rebells bear sway, do beginning to be sensible of the same bondage under Colonell *Fiennes*, enter into a Consultation how to put the City of *Bristoll* into the Kings possession and protection. To this purpose they dispatch an agent to the Court, to inform the King that he had many good Subjects in *Bristoll*, and withall to signifie their desire to deliver up his own City to himself, if he would be pleased to send some of his Forces thither, to take it.

The Reasons which prevailed with them to make this tender unto His Majesty were many, we may reduce them to three heads.

First, Conscience to God, not to resist the King, knowing that they that do resist shall receive unto themselves damnation, and therefore resolved never to joyn themselves to the damnable Sect of the *Hothamites*, those state Hereticks, who count it their duty to keep the Kings Towns for the Kings use, by shutting the Gates against the Kings person.

The Second Inducement was the frequent affronts given to His Majesty by the Rebells, to the great regret of every good Subject; and of these they give many Instances.

First, Scandalous and disloyall Speeches on all occasions belched out against His Majesties Person, His Protestations, Declarations, Proclamations, indeed all his actions.

Secondly, Contempt of His Majesties gracious offers, even to the very face of His Messenger; for when in *February* last, the King sent His gracious Letters to the City of *Bristoll*, requiring them not to give admittance to any of the Parliament Forces, promising that He himself would not impose any on them, but what they themselves should desire;

sire; together with the tender of many promises of his favour (given in charge to Sir *Baynham Throkmorton* whom he sent unto them for that purpose) yet notwithstanding at that very instant, in contempt (I say) of this great vouchsafement, The Major *Richard Aldworth*, with *Brown* the Sheriffe, two bouteface in perverting that City with some other their associates did send four peeces of Ordnance to *Marlborough*, there to be imployed against the King. And though Sir *Baynham*, upon information given unto him, did expostulate the affront with the Major, and in the Kings name commanded the stay of them; and though some of the well-affected Citizens having notice of it, came & threw them off their Carriages, because they knew that the intention was to imploy them against the King: yet overborn by a greater number, who produced the Major and Sheriffs Warrant for their conveyance without let or interruption, they were inforced to give way, and thither they were sent.

Thirdly, When in the beginning of *March* last, amongst other Proclamations sent to *Bristoll*, one was concerning the Kings Royall Navy, invaded and possessed by the Earl of *Warwick*, and imployed against His Majesty and His loyall Subjects; The King by that Proclamation forbidding all Sea-men, and Mariners, and all Officers of His Navy to take imployment under the Earl, or to obey his Commands, though Colonell *Fiennes* then Governour of *Bristoll* could have caused that Proclamation to be suppressed and not published, yet as much as he could to dishonour the King in the eyes of His Subjects, he permits it to be proclaimed, that thence he might take occasion to blaspheme His Soveraign; for being proclaimed on Friday the third of *March*, the next day (*Saturday*) being the chief Market day, when

when the Market was fullest, that the news might be carryed into all parts of the Country, and every one learn from so desperate an example to contemn their Soveraigns Commands, *Fienates* comes in his Coach to the high Crosse attended by a Troop of Horse, and after a Declaration read, that the Proclamation published the day before was a scandalous and libellous paper, and such as deserved to be burnt by the hand of a publique Hangman; he caused the Sergeant that proclaimed it to burn it, holding Pistolls to his breast, and threatning to shoot him if he did not hold them high enough, fearing, it seems, that so damnable, so unpardonable a Treason should want witnesses.

Lastly, As the direct end of their desire to deliver up the City to the Kings protection, was conscience of duty to God and their Soveraign, so the reflected end was their own security, and quitting themselves of those oppressions and grievances under which they suffered; and these were many.

First, The often repeated Taxations and Loans of money unto the King and Parliament, as they were pleased to joyn them upon the thred-bare security of the *Publique Faith*, and if any man refused to lend on that credit which they had bankrupted long before, he was threatned with imprisonment, plundring, or which was worse then both, sending up to the Parliament; and to these may be added the daily draynings their purses by illegall exactions imployed for repairing the Castle, building of Forts, and maintaining a Garrison against the King.

Secondly, by urging upon them new and treasonable Votes and Protestations: if not fully in words, yet in the use and interpretation of them directly opposite to the Oath of Allegiance, the Oath of the City taken by every

Citizen, when he is elected into the place of a Burgesse, in which they swear in the six Article of that oath not to enter into any Oath or Confederacy against the King, contrary to the Lawes of the Land: and likewise contrary to the Protestation recommended from the Parliament to the Subjects of this Kingdom. The Oath (for the tenour of words) was this as following.

I A. B. *do protest and vow in the presence of Almighty God, that I will to the utmost of my power and to the hazard of my life and fortunes, oppose all such Forces as shall attempt any thing against the City of* Bristoll, *without the consent of the King and Parliament so to do.*

In which Protestation they took the name of the King in vain, for when they say *King and Parliament* they intend the *two Houses* without the *King*, for if actions do the best interpreters of the agents words, it is more then manifest, that by this Protestation they intended to ingage the City in Rebellion against the King, and that under the tyrall Religion. And for proofe, I offer but their seconding this Protestation with another, which spake more plainly, wherein they were to protest with their lives and fortunes to resist Prince *Rupert*, the Lord Generall the Earle of *Forth*, the Lord Marquesse *Hertford*, the Earle of *Newcastle*, Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and their forces; and secondly, because as

before the tendring of this Protestation, they had received Colonell *Essex* to Command there for the Parliament, so within a few dayes after the first Protestation was tendred, they admitted Colonell *Popham* and Sir *Edward Hungerford* with their Regiments; and afterward Colonell *Fiennes* without any opposition, that so now being backed with so strong a power, they might make the latter Protestation the interpreter of the former.

Thirdly, by disarming all such as were any wayes suspected to bear a good and loyall affection to His Majesty, unlesse they would take such Protestations as should be tendred to them; and having taken away such Arms as they found, (not satisfied with this) they urge on them another Potestation, protesting in the sight of God, and calling him to witnesse, that they had no other Arms concealed in their houses, either their own or others: and if any man refused to take this Protestation, he was instantly imprisoned as an enemy to the State, and a man not to be confided in.

Fourthly, the perpetuall scorn and obloquie to which they were exposed, reproached every day as they passed the streets, with names of Malignants, and Papists; nay as if they had been worse then Jewes, they spit at them, and threaten to take a speedy course with them.

Fifely, the generall contempt and prophanation of Gods holy worship and service, rending of Surplices, tearing the book of Common-Prayer, breaking down Organs, exterminating the whole Liturgie out of their Congregations; and all these outrages, not onely winked at, but countenanced and incouraged by *Fiennes* and his fellow Rebells, and that they might have *Like People, Like Priest*. They discounteneance or drive away the Orthodox Ministers, and substi-

Upon the Petition of Mistris Mayoresse the Lady *Rogers*, Mistris *Holsworth*, Mistris *Vicaris* with other zealous Sisters, to the number of a hundred.

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ture in their places the most infamous notorious Schismaticks that they can pick out of severall Counties, as *Tomb's* of *Lemster*, in *All Saints*, in Master *Williamsons* cure an orthodox and godly man; *Craddock*, *Bacon*, *Walker*, *Simonds*, and one *Matthew Hazard*, whom though I name last, yet deserves to have the precedency of all the rest, as being a main incendiary in this Rebellion, violently egged on by his Wife, whose disciple the silly man is: this gave occasion of scandall to all pious, godly men, which honoured the Protestant Religion as it is established, and made them even to abhor the service of the Lord.

Lastly, because upon the point they were confined to *Bristoll*, not daring to go out of the City, for in all places where the Commands and Ordinances of the two Houses prevailed; they had given a list of the names of the Malignants that durst appear for the King, to the end that if any of them came thither, they might be apprehended and sent Prisoners to *Taunton*, *Berkley* Castle, or some other Prisons; or as Delinquents sent to the Parliament.

It was no wonder therefore, that a City thus robbed of its wealth and liberty, groaning under an unsupportable yoak of bondage and tyranny should indeavour, by restoring the King to His rights, to restore themselves to their former freedome; which could not be done but by breaking these bonds, and casting these cords from them: on these weighty motives therefore they enter into a loyall confederacy to deliver up the City from its captivity under the Rebells into His Majesties protection, and that without shedding one drop of blood if it were possible, but most certain without any resolution to Massacre the Citizens, as hath been most falsely both Preached and Printed: for Master *Yeomans* and Master *Bowcher* both on their Examinations,

tions, and after their Condemnation both affirmed, That there was not any intention of blood-shed; and in the Examinations of Master *Yeomans* and others taken before the Councell of *Warre* at *Briſtoll*, ſent up by Master *Clement Walker* Uſher of the Exchequer, but now the Advocate to that Congregation of Murtherers that adjudged theſe Innocents to death, and ordered by the Houſe of Commons *Die Lunæ* 22. *Maii*. 1643. to be printed, we thus read, *The King had alſo aſſured us and given charge to Prince* Rupert *that no violence ſhould be uſed to any, which I do believe was his full intent, the rather for that I heare there came a Proclamation to that effect*: where 'tis obſervable that *Walker* (a man that had his hands ſtained with his own Wifes blood before he dipped them ſo deep in theſe Martyrs,) though in that contrived Confeſſion of Maſter *Yeomans*, he bring him in profeſſing his conviction in conſcience of the juſtneſſe of the Parliaments cauſe (when 'tis known, that if he would have recanted and contributed towards this unnaturall War, he and Maſter *Bowcher*, both might have ſaved their lives) yet he dares not ſo to murther his fame after his perſon by charging upon him ſo bloody a crime, as an intention to maſſacre his fellow Citizens. Pag. 3.

'Tis therefore confeſſed on all hands, that Maſter *Yeomans*, Maſter *Bowcher* and others, had an intention to caſt out the Rebells, and to deliver *Briſtoll* into the Kings poſſeſſion, reſolving to ſecure the perſons of the Governour and ſome others of the chiefeſt Rebells, but not to kill them: To this purpoſe a Commiſſion is obtained and ſent to Maſter *Robert Yeomans* to raiſe Forces and conſtitute Commanders for the Kings ſervice. Maſter *George Bowcher* contrives a Proteſtation to be taken by all that joyned themſelves to this Aſſociation, fully expreſſing the latitude

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of their intentions in that undertaking. The Protestation is extant in Master *Bowchers* Examination taken by *Walker* on the 10 of *March* 164[illegible], and published in the Book before mentioned; and is affected under his own hand, which I have seen, and was written not long before his death. The Protestation was this,

I Do voluntarily protest before Almighty God, upon the Faith of a Christian, That I will to the utmost of my power, and with the hazard of my life and fortunes, defend my dread Soveraign Lord King Charles, and his Rights, Crown, and Dignity, against all Force and Forces which are or shall be raised within His Majesties Dominions without His Royall assent, Authority, and Command. Which was the sum of this pretended horrid Treason.

After communication of Counsells and many Messages interchanged between *Oxford* and *Brissell*, drawing some of Colonell *Essex* his Commanders into the combination, who loathed and condemned themselves in their own imployment, it was resolved, that upon Monday the seventh of *March*, Prince *Rupert* with a Partie of the Kings Forces, should face the City on *Turdan-Downe*, distant not a full mile from the City, and for the Association in the City, their

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task was to make good two Ports, *Froom-gate* and *New gate*: who having seized on the guards, were to open the Gates, & to signifie the accomplishment of the designe to the Kings Forces to make their approach by the Ringing of St. *Johns* and St. *Michaels* Bells: Prince *Rupert*, a vigilant and valiant Prince, comes that Monday night to the place appointed, expecting the next morning by five of the clock the signall to be given, and the Ports opened unto him: but that night (whether by negligence amongst their own, or vigilancy of the Rebells is uncertain) the Combination was discovered, and Master *Yeomans*, Master *Boucher* and divers others were that night apprehended in their Houses, having some armed men with them, and were instantly committed to safe custody; which being signified to the Prince, he immediatly withdrew his Forces and marched away.

And now having them in their power, they clap Irons on them, tye them head and feet together, commit them close Prisoners, deprive them of all comfort to be administred by their Wives, or Children, or Friends, and used them with that barbarousnesse and inhumanity, as cannot be imagined, could be practised by one Christian upon another; and after seventy six dayes hard imprisonment, often examination, barbarous insulting over them, especially by *Nathaniel Fines*, they were brought to their tryall at a Councell of War; where Articles being exhibited against them by Advocate *Walker*, they received Sentence of death: what the Articles exhibited against Mr *Yeomans* were, may be collected out of the Sentence it self, as we find it in pag. 4. of the before mentioned Book of Master *Yeomans* his examinations: published by command of the House of Commons, which for satisfaction of such as shall cast a compassionate eye on this sad story we have here inserted,

The Judgement upon *Robert Yeomans.*

VPon due consideration of the Articles exhibited on May 8. *by* Clement Walker *Esquire, Advocate to this Councell of Warre; against* Robert Yeomans, *and others the late Conspirators in this City, and upon due hearing of the Answers, and defence of the said* Robert *to the severall Articles, and also upon examination and proofs before them taken upon oath. It is unanimously adjudged by this Court, That the said* Robert Yeomans *is guilty of traiterous intelligence, and correspondency with the Enemy; and of a traiterous and wicked conspiracy to betray this Town into the hands of the Enemy; and thereupon this Court doth adjudge and passe Sentence of Death upon him as a Traytor and Conspirator, and accordingly doth order, that the said* Robert Yeomans *shall be returned to the*

place

place of his former Imprisonment, and from thence be brought before the main Court of Guard there to be Hanged by the neck till he dye.

Nath. Fines. Richard Cole, Wal. White, James Ford, Joh. Clifton, Joh. Chamneys, Tho. Hippesly, Martin Husbands, Tho. Raulins, Rich. Hippesly, Tho. Eyre, Thomas Goodere, James Heane, Tho. Wallis, Will. Bowel. Robert Baugh.

To this bloudy Sentence I have added the names of that bloudy Conspiracy of Murtherers that gave it, that their names and memory may stinke with posterity, and be loathsome to all Generations that shall hereafter read and bemoan the condition of their predecessour that groaned under the tyranny of a prevayling faction of Brownists and Anabaptists.

Master *Robert Yeomans* being thus most unjustly condemned, *May* 8. on the 22. of the same Moneth Mr. *George Bowcher* was called before *Fiennes* and the rest of that Rebellious crew which call themselves a Councell of Warre, and that you may gheese at the whole by some; *William Bowel* is a Pedant, and from whipping of Boyes was made an unrighteous Judge of men, *James Heane* a drunken Attorney, and *Robert Baugh* a Sheep-skin dresser, who in the times of peace durst not come near Master *Yeomans*, but uncovered at a distance as his duty was, now pluck'd off Master *Yeomans* his Hat, commanding him to stand bare before him. The Articles exhibited by *Walker* their Advocate were Seven, recorded under Master *Rowthers* own hand,

whereof the main and first they insisted on was,

1 First, *That he had framed a Protestation to defend the King, His Crown and Dignity against, &c. The Protestation* which you heard before.

2 Secondly, *That he had raised Men and provided Arms and Ammunition of all sorts, Crows of Iron, Pick-axes, Axes and Iron wedges, with Torches and Links to further the Designe of suppressing the Court of Guard at Froom-gate.*

3 Thirdly, *That he conspired with others to let in Prince* Rupert, *a forraign Prince* (as they stiled him) *who being entred the City should put to death and plunder all the Inhabitants of that City that came not out to assist and joyn with them.*

4 Fourthly, *That he did undertake to give Prince* Rupert *a signall when he should make his approaches to the City by Ringing Saint* Johns *and Saint* Michaels *Bells.*

5 Fifthly, *That he certified Prince* Rupert, *that the designe of giving him entrance into the Town was discovered, and advised him to retreat.*

6 Sixtly, *That he forced open the Croud door* (being a burial place under the Quire) *under Saint* Johns Baptists *Church, with an intention to use it for a Prison to secure such as should make resistance whether they were of the Guard or others, while they were in pursuance of their designe.*

7 Lastly, *That he had locks and other provisions to chain up the passages at Saint* Johns *Gate, in case any of the*

Parliament Horse should rush in upon them while the work was in doing.

These Articles, though maliciously expressed and aggravated, yet for the matter of them were drawn either from his own confessions or depositions of others; and upon these at the Lady *Rogers* her house he received the like unjust sentence of death, as Master *Yeomans* had done before.

When the report of so illegall, so unjust proceedings arrived at Court, though at first few men did think that their bold insolency would go on to put the Sentence in execution: yet at last considering, that they were in the hands, not of honourable enemies, but of Rebels; and of Rebels that were Sectaries, and which was more then both, rebellious Sectaries, at the devotion of Master *Fiennes*, who did command in chief, and had strong influence on the rest. The Earl of *Forth* Lord Lieutenant of all His Majesties Forces, resolved to write unto *Fiennes*, and that by way of Threat, *paripœnâ exactâ, ut hostes à superbo & insolenti supplicii temperarent*, as *Diodorus Siculus* reports of *Philometus* in the like case, that by the menace of the like punishment on the Prisoners here, he might stave them off from their intended cruelty on the Kings good subjects there: for thus he writes,

Patrick *Earl of* Forth, *Lord* Etterick, *and Lord Lieutenant of all His* Majesties *Forces.*

I *Having been informed, that lately at a Court of Warre, you have condemned to death* Robert Yeomans *late Sheriffe of the City of* Bristoll, *who hath His Majesties Commission for raising a Regiment for his*

service, William Yeomans *his Brother,* George Bowcher, *and* Edward Dacres, *all for expressing their Loyalty to His Majesty, and endeavouring his Service, according to their Allegiance, and that you intend to proceed speedily against divers others in the like manner: Do therefore signifie unto you, that I intend speedily to put Master* George, *M.* Stevens, *Captain* Huntly, *and others taken in Rebellion against His Majesty at* Cyrencester *into the same condition. Do further advertise you, that if you offer by that unjust Iudgement to execute any of them you have so condemned, that those now in custody here, specially Master* George, *Master* Stevens, *and Captain* Huntly *must expect no favour or mercy.*

Given under my hand at *Oxford*, this 16. of *May*, 1643.

To the Commander in chief, and the Councell of War in the City, of *Brisloll.*

FORTH.

Having

Having received this Letter by a Drum, and knowing the great advantage they had by the meanneſſe and baſeneſſe of the Priſoners in the Kings hands put in the ballance with thoſe of the Kings in their hands, while we expoſe Earls, Barons, and the flower of the Nobility and Gentry to blew Aprons and Broom-men, inſomuch that if a peace ſhould inſue (which God grant) one Article had need be incerted for the honour of the *Souldiery*, That theſe Mechanicks may be degraded from their Titles, that the names of Colonell, Lieutenant-Colonell, Sergeant-Major, Captain, &c. be not diſhonoured by being called upon them, I ſay *Fiennes* knowing this advantage, returns this inſolent Anſwer,

Nath. Fiennes Governour; and the Councell of War in the City of BRISTOLL.

HAving received a Writing from your Lordſhip, wherein it is declared, That upon information of our late proceedings againſt Robert Yeamans, William Yeamans, *and others, you intend ſpeedily to put Maſter* George, *Maſter* Stevens, *Captain* Huntly, *and others into the ſame condition. We are well aſſured, That neither your Lordſhip, nor any mortall man, can put them into the ſame condition; for whether they*

live

live or dye, they will alwaies be accounted true and honest men, faithfull to their King and Country, and such as in a fair and open way have alwaies prosecuted that Cause, which in their judgement, guided by the judgement of the highest Court, they held the justest: Whereas the Conspiratours of this City must both in life and death carry perpetually with them the brand of Treachery and Conspiracy. And if Robert Yeomans *had made use of his Commission in an open way, he should be put into no worse condition then others in the like kinde had been: But the Law of Nature amongst all men, and the Law of Arms amongst all Souldiers maketh a difference between open Enemies, and secret Spies and Conspiratours: And if you shall not make the like distinction, we do signifie unto you, That we shall not onely proceed to the execution of the persons already condemned, but also of divers others of the Conspiratours, unto whom we had some*

thoughts

thoughts of extending mercy: And do advertise you, That if by any inhumane and unsouldier-like sentence you shall proceed to the execution of the persons by you named, or any other of our friends in your custody, that have been taken in a fair and open way of War, then Sir VValter Pye, *Sir* VVilliam Crofts, *Colonell* Connesby *and divers others taken in open rebellion, and actuall War against the King and Kingdom, whom we have here in custody, must expect no favour or mercy. And, by Gods blessing upon our just cause, we have Pawns enough for our friends security, without taking in any that have gotten out of our reach and power: although divers of yours, of no mean quality and condition, have been freely released by us.* Given under our hands this 18. day of *May.* 1643.

Nathaniel Fiennes, President.
Clement Walker, &c.

To *Patrick* Earl of *Forth*,
Lord Lieutenant-Generall.

When this took no effect, the King, gracious as he is, and full of goodneſſe, His bowells yearning over the deſtruction of his worſt Subjects, takes the condition of theſe that ſuffer for him into his pious conſideration; and ſince *Fiennes* ſwaying the reſt remained obſtinate, the King by a Trumpeter ſends his Letter to the Major, Aldermen, and Sheriffs of *Briſtoll*, commanding them to raiſe the power of the City, and imploy it to the reſcue of theſe men deſigned for ſlaughter: Thus he writes,

CHARLES R.

TRuſty and welbeloved, we greet you well. Whereas we are informed, That by the power and Authority of certain Factious and Rebellious Perſons in that our City of Briſtoll, divers of our good Subjects (as namely Robert Yeomans, George Bowcher, William Yeomans, Ed. Dacres and others) of that Our City are impriſoned for preſerving their Duty and Loyalty to us, and for refuſing to joyn in, or aſſiſt this horrid and odious Rebellion againſt Us, and that the ſaid Wicked and traiterous Perſons, have preſumed to condemn the ſaid innocent men to dye, and upon ſuch their ſentence, notoriouſly againſt the Laws of God and Man, they intend to execute and murther Our ſaid Subjects; We have thought fit to ſignifie

to

to you the Major, Aldermen, Sheriffes, and the rest of the body of the Councell of that our City, That if you suffer this horrid and execrable murther to be committed upon the Persons aforesaid, and thereby call the just Judgement of God, and bring perpetuall infamy upon that our City, We shall look upon it as the most barbarous and inhumane Act that hath been yet committed against Us, and upon you as the most desperate betrayers of Us, and of the Lives and Liberties of your fellow Subjects. And we do therefore Will and command you, not to suffer any violence to be done upon the persons aforesaid; but, that if any such be attempted against them, that you raise all the power and strength of that Our City for their rescue. And to that purpose We command all Our good Subjects of that Our City to aid and assist you upon their Allegiance, and as they hope for any Grace and favour at our hands; And that you and they Kill and Slay all such Who shall attempt or endeavour to take away the Lives of Our said Subjects; And for so doing this shall be your Warrant. And hereof you

may not take at your utmost Perill. Given at Our Court at Oxford the 29 day of May, 1643.

To Our Trusty and Welbeloved the Major, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and the rest of the Common Councell of Our City of *Bristoll*.

This Letter, though dispatched the 29 of *May*, yet the Messenger is not returned to this house to make report what entertainment it found, only we are certainly informed, that he arrived at *Bristoll* that very day that these Gentlemen, by laying down their lives, did bear a good testimony to the truth, but came too late; yet had it come sooner, *Fiennes* having intelligence that a Letter was coming from the King, kept the Gates shut to keep out the Messenger, until their intended Murthers were fully finished: But at last when he had admittance, contrary to the Law of Arms and Nations, *Fiennes* committed him to prison, where he yet remains.

All their indeavours of a pious Prince to rescue his faithfull Subjects, being frustrated by the obstinate malice of these bloody Rebels, and having no force to compell what he could not perswade, they go on to act their cruell intentions. After Sentence of death passed on them they pursue them with threats, and use no language to them but death and hanging, often menacing what they could but once inflict: So that each night they thought to dye next morning; having some dayes languished under the insulting Cruelty of these bloudy Butchers, and being frequently robbed of their Necessary food by the Gentinells, (that stood at their Prisons, not so much that they might not withdraw themselves

selves from the intended death, as to intercept all comforts that were brought unto them) had they not hastned the execution, famine would have saved them that labour; for Mr. *Yeomans* (whom of the two they most hated) laden with Chains, stifled with the nastinesse of a Dungeon, macerated with want of food; but *filled with the scarufull reproof of the proud*, reproached every day with the name of bloody Villain, and the like, was like to have prevented their malice by dying that morning that he dyed: he was a man of a magnanimous spirit, a large Soule fit for great imployments, and therefore more sensible of indignities, for great spirits oppressed, like Tapers held downward, are extinguished by the same matter which gives them life; so that sitting by his dear Wife that morning that he dyed, and leaning on her breast he fell into a swoun, and in probability had then departed, had not the shrecks and outcries of his Wife recalled him to a more glorious death, that so posterity might read his name, together with Master *Bowchers*, not in the Catalogue of *Confessours*, but inrolled in the *noble Army of Martyrs*,

When the time of their Martyrdom drew neer, Colonell *Fiennes*, for fear the City should oppose his bloody intentions, concealed the time resolved on to put them in execution: but when the fatall day was come, *Fiennes* drew his Forces into the Marsh, the common place where they made their Musters: he caused the Gates suddenly to be shut, the City not knowing his intention, and presently drew Partees of Horse and Foot into every street, to awe the Citizens, and to suppresse Insurrections, if haply they should recover so much of the ancient courage of true English men not to suffer so great a breach to be made on their lives & liberties, as to see their fellow Citizens led like sheep to the slaughter,

 and

and they in the mean time ſtand dumb like ſheep and not oppoſe it: nor was it without good reaſon that *Fines* ſhould ſuſpect ſome oppoſition from the City, for beſides that they now ſaw the baſeſt of the City made of the Councell of Warre, and the power of life and death over the Magiſtrates delivered in their hands that before this Rebellion were never thought fit to beat the office of Scavenger) Maſter *Tremain* and Maſter *Boucher* were men of Eminency in the City, generally beloved, and their Crime known to be nothing but Loyalty: They could not likewiſe but conſider that an Iſſue of bloud was that day opened that might in time prove fatall to them, and involve them in the ſame Condition, for if *Fiennes* and his bloud-hounds ſhall for any other vertue paſſe the like ſentence on any of them, as they did on theſe for their Loyalty, not conſpiring with them to murther their Soveraign, what power ſhall protect them from ſuch oppreſſion who having to their own ruine refuſed the Kings protection, are grown ſo tame as not with the hazard of their lives to protect themſelves?

Having thus made all ſecure, they bring the priſoners from the Caſtle to the main Court of Guard; in the way as they went, the people greedy to ſee, and ſalute theſe unhappy aſſertors of their liberty, preſſe to the hazard of many blows, to take their farewell of them, they in a courteous deportment returning hearty thanks for thoſe dangerous expreſſions of their affections, for it was reaſon enough to be committed as a Malignant to own them, or ſo much as to pray for them.

To prepare themſelves for their death they made it an humble requeſt that they might have the aſſiſtance of Maſter *Tongued* and Maſter *Standfaſt* two Orthodox, learned, and pious Miniſters of the City, to help to ſweeten that bitter

Cup

Cup of which they were to drinke, and by ſpirituall comfort to take off from the ſharpneſſe of thoſe dreggs which they were to ſuck up: But as if they meant to murther their Soules as well as their bodies, to vex their righteous Soules inſtead of comforting them againſt the approach of death, they refuſe to condeſcend to ſo reaſonable a request, and impoſe on them *Cradock* and *Fowler* two Emiſſaries ſent to that City to poyſon it with Schiſme and Rebellion, that ſo they might fill up the meaſure of their ſinnes and ripen them for deſtruction.

Standing at the Foot of the Tree that by and by was to bear fruit unto eternall life, it was obſerved by ſome of theſe Murtherers (well skilled, it ſeems, in the art and Method of hanging) that the halters were too long, or too ſhort, or elſe not tyed faſt enough, ſome fault there was which the Deaths-man had directions to correct, he obeying the directions of the chief Hangman, goes up and takes off the halters: The people who came thither Spectators of this bloudy Tragedy, ſtanding at diſtance and not privy to the intention, fondly conceited that certainly Colonell *Fiennes* had ſent a Reprive, and inſtantly expreſſed the greatneſſe of their Joy by the loudneſſe of their Acclamations: Never conſidering *Fiennes* his Extraction, being born and bred in a family *Sworn enemies to Monarchy, and all that love it*: At laſt ſeeing the Guards ſtand fix'd and that this ſtay was but to make ſurer work, the Executioner faſtning his Inſtruments of death according to the directions given him by them whoſe Journeyman he was; the people, as if ſtrook with thunder, or blaſted with lightnings ſtood amazed, untill at laſt, aſtoniſhment giving way to Compaſſion, they ſent out tears inſtead of acclamations, and exchanged their joy for lamentations.

All

All things thus made ready to offer up these Innocents, sacrifices to the Implacable rage of *Fiennes* and his fellow Rebells, Master *Robert Yeomans* is first commanded to ascend the Ladder, thence to reach his *Crown of Martyrdom*. But remembring whose piety it was in the middest of his sufferings to recommend his Mother to the care of a Guardian (being himself to leave this world) he first makes his addresse to his Father in law Master *Yeomans*, and tells him that he had left him a Legacy, *viz.* his wife then great with child, and eight small children, the eldest not able to put on its own cloathes: and so with many imbracements left him, and let forward in his way to heaven.

And now being Lifted in that place of shame and Ignominy (so it is in its own nature where the goodnesse of the cause doth not change the *Accursed Tree* into a *Theater of honour*) and finding himself made a *spectacle* to that City wherein he had lived in plenty and honour, being *Sheriffe* but the yeer before, in an heritage of which office he was inferiour to none of his predecessours in bounty and magnificence, which Colonell *Popham* and his friends by frequent experience know very well. And from that sad prospect taking a view of many friends that could hardly look through their own teats to see him again. And from thence too, seeing some of a far different affection that rejoyced in his sufferings, and amongst them *Robert Baugh* the Sheep-skin-dresser (*Fiennes* his Associate in the Councell of War) in a devilish cruelty (and let God that righteous Judge require it at his hands) standing jeering and mocking at him to his face; here *Flesh and blood* interposed, which transported him to an expostulation bordering between indignation and submission, saying, *Good God what have I done to be here?* but instantly sorry that humane frailty

should

should extort any thing from him unbeseeming the justice of his cause, or the braveness of his christian resolution, silencing the suggestions of such ill Councellours, he composed himself to speak some thing to the people.

His strength exhausted by long and many sufferings, disabled him to speak much or lowd, yet willing to clear himself from that prejudice under which he lay, of an intention to massacre all that should adhere to the two Houses (which some miss-call a Parliament) laying his hand upon his breast, and fixing his eyes on heaven, the habitation of the God of truth, he made a solemn protestation of his innocency from any such thought: he professed his firm perswasion of the justice of that cause for the defence of which he suffered, affirming, That if he had more lives he would sacrifice them all to the service of his Soveraign in the same way: and therefore we may justly wonder at the frontlesse impudence of that *Clement Walker* that should tell the world in print, that Master *Yeamans* did confesse that he was *convicted in conscience of the justnesse of the Parliaments Cause*: but they that know the man and that poor stock either of religion or honesty which he hath, need not wonder that he that before this Parliament made it his frequent Theam to declaim against *Puritans*, should now (judgeing them to be the prevailing Faction) to endear himself unto them: first embrew his hands in this Gentlemans blood, and then report him falsely to posterity as if he had recanted that loyalty for which, and in which he professed he died.

While he was thus speaking to the people, Sergeant-Major *Langridge* and *Clifton* call upon the Executioner to hasten the work: nay, they did not stick to interrupt Master *Yeamans* in his discourse, and to goad him on the sides and thighs with their Halberts, bidding him to contract

and make an end: hereupon he desired the witnesses of his suffering to sing with him the 130 Psalm which he sung with great elevation of spirit and fervency of devotion, knowing that presently he should be translated from this *Bochim* the *valley of tears*, where we do not so much sing as sigh out our Hymnes, into that triumphant Quire, where with Angels, and Archangels, and all the powers of heaven he should sing Haleluiahs and Anthems of Joy for evermore: Having finished the Psalm and some other Prayers, and amongst the rest, instantly beseeching God not to charge his death upon that City, nor require his Innocent bloud at their hands: prayed for his Persecutors and adjured his friends not to harbour a thought of revenge, he began again to make some addresse to the people chalenging the world *there* to testifie against him, if he had wronged any man, and beginning to apologize for his Innocency even in the very cause of his death, *Langridge* and *Clifton* the chief Hangmen under *Fiennes* their Master, knowing how much his words might prevaile with the people, and that one *Martyr falling quickly springs up into many Converts*, caused him instantly to be thrown off, hardly giving him so much time as in some short ejaculations to recommend his soule to God: and now *there* he is *under the Altar*, and joyns in that
Revel. 6. 10. shrill cry that calls loud in the eares of God, *How long O Lord holy and true, dost thou not Judge and avenge our bloud on them that dwelt on the earth?* being thrown off, and his body swinging with the fall, his Brother-in-law Master *John Haggat*, an honest Gentleman and of good quality in the City, put out his hand to stay it, which (that inhumane Villain) *Clifton* seeing, strook him with his Cane with that violence, that he had almost stroken him to the ground; Good God, which shall we most wonder at, either the barbarous inhumanity

manity of this murtherer, or the degenerous Ignoble patience of the Citizens of *Briſtoll*, that could ſtand by and ſee all this, and not chooſe either to live freely or dye couragiouſly together.

Having had ſufficient experience of the *Tameneſſe* of the *Citizens*, and that there was no danger of oppoſition to be feared from them, the Rebells wade on in bloud. And having murthered Maſter *Yeomans* they command Maſter *Bowcher* to aſcend the ladder: It ſeems by what he left written by his own hand, and written to that purpoſe to communicate it to the world, that he intended to be large, exhorting thoſe (to uſe his own words) who "had ſet their "hands to the plough (meaning the maintenance of the "Kings cauſe) not to be too haſty (as terrified with their "ſufferings) to take them off: nor to regard thoſe beggarly and ſchiſmaticall rudiments which crafty and malicious men had invented and introduced into the Church of "God in theſe laſt and worſt times of the world, denying "the truth, and bringing in damnable Poſitions of their own "deviſing, &c. And likewiſe giving an exact Character of the Schiſmaticks that domineer at this time, in the draught borrowing the pencill of the Holy Ghoſt, I mean deſcribing them in the phraſe of the Scriptures, a man very well able to do it, being verſed in the Scriptures, a frequent hearer of Sermons, and by the teſtimony of his very enemies confeſſed to be a religious man: "Proud (ſaies "he) they are, boaſters, heady unſtable, who cenſure as "unjuſt the actions of others before they receive reſolution "from God, or rightly underſtand his will touching their "own, having hearts fraught with malice, inceſſantly la"bouring to bring to paſſe their deviliſh deſignes by peſti"lent plots, dawbing and painting them over with falſe

"glosses against the light of their own conscience, and "against that knowledge which they have in the Laws "both of God and Man; justifying the wicked, and con- "demning the innocent, &c. This was too much truth to be spoken to them whom it did so much concern, and therefore was not permited to speak so largely to the Assembly: at last pressed on to hasten his death by those that are *swift to shed blood:* he desired to sing *Psal.* 16. which being ended, he began to recommend his Soul to God in most pious patheticall Prayers and Ejaculations, but they are not content that he should speak either to the *People* or to his *God*; for *Rosewell* a *Levite* of their own, and a crack-brain Seperatist interrupts him in the midst of his Devotions, reviles him and calls him "Hypocrite *and* Apostate, "That after so strict a conversation, so much time spent in "the profession of Religion, he should render all suspected "for hypocrisie by so obstinate perseverance in his Rebel- "lion against the Parliament: he meant for dying for his loyalty to his Soveraign: all this moved not the constancy of this resolved Martyr, but according to the advice of Saint *Bernard*, he held up *Scutum conscientiæ contra Gladium Linguæ*, the buckler of a good conscience to ward the blows of a malicious Tongue, knowing that as the *flattering Tongue* is no *cure* for a *bad*, so the *rayling Tongue* is no *wound* to the *good* conscience; possessing his Soule therefore in patience, he lets this snarling Dog bark on, resolving with holy *Iob*, *Ecce in cælo Testis meus*, *Behold my witnesse is in Heaven, and my Record is on high:* and so sustaining his soule under the burden of that reproach with that comfortable promise of our Saviour, *Blessed are ye when men shall revile you and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evill against you falsely for my sake, rejoyce and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward*

Ser. 40. *de modo bene vivendi.*

Job. 16. 19.

reward in Heaven: he yeelded himself to the will and desire of his Murtherers; This *Rosewell*, in his very fall from the Ladder, pursuing him with the odious names of *Hypocrite* and *Apostate*, thereby (if it had been possible) to disturbe the peace of his *Soule*, and indanger his *Charity* in that very instant when he was going out of the World, and ready to be presented at the dreadfull Tribunall of that most righteous Judge, *who putteth no trust in his Saints, yea the Heavens are not clear in his sight*: a practice so void of Christianity, nay so perfectly deviliſh to extend malice even to the endeavours of a *second death*, That had a black Angell been dispatched from Hell, (an agent for that kingdom of darkneſſe) he could not have done more to advance Damnation, or approve himself a malicious Emiſſary of that bottomleſſe pit, then this Schiſmatick did. Mat. 5. 11, 12. Job. 15. 15. Pag. 19.

These two now glorious Martyrs, having thus through their ignominious deaths rendred their Soules to God, the Spectators ſmite their breasts and return: never was there ſo generall a face of ſorrow, ſuch bitter lamentation heard in that City, as on this day: their bodies taken down were both carryed to Master *Yeomans* his houſe, Father-in-law to Master *Robert Yeomans*: in the evening Master *Bowebers* body was conveyed to his own houſe, a ſad ſpectacle to his poor Widow and ſeven Orphans, and that night they were both interr'd, Master *Yeomans* at *Chriſt-Church*, Master *Bowcher* at Saint *Warburgh's*; their Funeralls being attended by thoſe Orthodox Miniſters that the perſecution had left, and by moſt of the honeſt wel-affected Citizens; though they knew that they could not expreſſe this piety to the dead, but to the hazard of loſing their liberties, and plundring their eſtates.

Thus have you ſeen the Martyrdom of theſe loyall Citi-

zens, ſuffering for their *Religion*, by *Sectaries* and *Atheiſts*, for their *Loyalty*, by *Traytors* and *Rebells*, and for their *Laws* and *Liberties*, by *Libertines* and *Sons of Belial*; a fact ſo horrid, and in which ſo many acts of cruelty and injuſtice did meet and concentre, that as no Hiſtory (not that of the *Anabaptiſts* of *Germany*) cannot give us a Paralell of this Rebellion, ſo this Rebellion cannot give us a Paralell of this Murther, except they that gave us this do give us more, as the report is, they have lately done in Murthering Maſter *Tompkins*, Maſter *Chaloner* and others in *London* in the ſame manner: It will therefore be worth our labour to conſider thoſe many obſtacles of Religion and Law which *Fiennes* and his fellow-Murtherers brake thorow, to make way to the bloud of theſe Martyrs, and they will ſerve as ſo many juſt aggravations of their ſinne.

Firſt, had theſe Gentlemen committed any capitall crime, yet the puniſhment not derived from lawfull authority, cannot excuſe thoſe that inflict it from the guilt of Murther; for the Sword of Juſtice is put immediately by God into the Kings hand, and into His hand onely: *Nemo eſt Dominus vitæ ſuæ*. No man is Lord of his own life, is a Concluſion admitted by all Caſuiſts and School-men, and therefore no community of men (it being ſuppoſed (which we ſhall never grant) that all other Authority is originally in the people, as the *Jeſuits* and *Puritans* ſhake hands and agree in this) can either exerciſe themſelves, or give to any other *jus gladii*, the right of the ſword, but onely he who is, *ſupremus Arbiter vitæ & necis*, the ſupream Judge of life and death, as *Suares* himſelf confeſſeth: Now in this proceeding of *Fiennes*, there was no derived Authority from the King, but it was done poynt blank contrary to his expreſſe command, who legally hath power to reprieve or pardon,

if

if there had been Treason proved against them, and that is the King.

Secondly, They were innocent men, and therefore the fact more barbarous, and calls louder in the eares of God and the King for vengeance; their very duty to God and the King was made their Crime, for to endevour to deliver up the City into the Kings possession, kept against him by *Fiennes* and others, (then most trayterous Traytors this Land ever groaned under) was but their duty, and that which the rest of their fellow Citizens stood obliged to do as well as themselves, by vertue of the Oathes of Allegiance and the Parliaments Protestation it selfe.

Thirdly, It was directly against the known Laws of this Kingdom whereby it is provided, That *none that shall attend upon the King and do him true service shall be attainted, or forfeit any thing*; so we finde it in the Title of that Statute, 11. *Hen. 7. cap. 1.* where after the preamble, expressing, that it is not *reasonable, but against all Laws, reason, and good conscience, that any man should suffer in his life and fortunes for adhering to the King that was in actuall possession of the Crown, though another pretender might be on foot:* It ordains thus, *That from thenceforth no manner of person or persons whatsoever he or they be, that attend upon the King and Soveraign Lord of this Land for the time being in his person, and do him true and faithfull service of allegiance in the same, or be in other places by his commandement, in his Warres within this Land or without, that for the said deed and true duty of Allegeance he or they be in no wise convict or attaint of High Treason, nor of other offences for that cause by Act of Parliament, or otherwise by any processe of Law, whereby he or any of them shall lose or forfeit Life, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Possessions, Hereditaments, Goods, Catells, or any other things, but to be for that deed and service,*

utterly

utterly discharged of any vexation, trouble, or losse: Had not these men seared consciences, and were become fromlesse, I wonder how they durst go about to abuse the world so grossly, (and which onely is the greater wonder) how they should prevaile with a great part of the world to beleeve them, that they have taken up Arms for the defence of the Laws, and yet break the Laws so apparently: for this Law enacted in the 11. of *Henry* the seventh stands at this day in force unrepealed, and yet they murther these Innocents for serving the King in His Wars according to their duty and allegiance, having a command and *Commission* under the Kings own hand to raise Forces in that City for His service.

Fourthly, these Gentlemen were not onely innocent, free from any crime, but highly deserving of the City, labouring to free it from that bondage and slavery in which it now was, and reduce it to its former happinesse by its former obedience, and highly merriting of the Kingdom too, in giving so brave a pattern of loyalty and allegiance to this backsliding revolting generation; had their counsell been followed, and their indeavours seconded by the rest of the Citizens, how glorious a City had *Bristoll* been at this day? how had *Severn* advanced her selfe above her sister *Thames*, that while this was ranked with that rebellious City which denies her banks, she had been glorious, as with the bounteous loyalty of *Shrewsbury* and the loyall valour of *Worcester*, so with the bare obedience of *Bristoll*? how will this miserable seduced City stand in our Annals when posterity shall read that the Women of *Worcester* (to their eternall honour I speak it) should cut down Hedges, levell Ditches, cast up Fortifications to keep themselves under the Kings protection, repell the Rebells and keep them out, and *Bristoll*

should

ſhould fortifie againſt their Soveraign, and willingly admit the Rebells in: yet I would not be miſtaken, as if I meant to lay this Rebellion to the charge of the whole City, 'tis unjuſt, *paucorum amentiam civitati aſſignare, ſuo quemque periculo furere:* as *Zeno* ſpake for the Magnetians; every man rebells at his own perill; many there are in that City, that have not bowed the knee to *Baal*, adored any Faction in Parliament to the forfeiture of their loyalty: nor is it my intention to aſcribe the Treaſon of *Aldworth* the Major, and *Brown* one of the preſent Sheriffs, and ſome few other turbulent ſpirits to the whole City. Liv.l.45.

Fiftly, they murther them under a pretence and ſhew of *juſtice*, and make the ordinances of God to ſtoop to their bloudy intentions, the world may remember from whence they took their pattern, the example was given in too Noble bloud, and though to ſmother the cry and awe the world to ſilence, they have laboured to diſgrace the Advocates of that bloud, by adjudging their pleadings to the fire by the hand of a publique Hangman, yet the voyce of this bloud cries loud from the ground which *opened her mouth to receive it from their hands:* nor can we ever hope that this land can be cleanſed, either from that or this bloud, but by the bloud of them that ſhed it.

Laſtly, which is no ſmall aggravation, it was a murther in coole bloud, (if it may be thought that Schiſmaticks know any other temper then hot:) had it been committed *Flagranti crimine* (as they conceived it) when the Plot was firſt diſcovered, repreſented to the people as a bloudy deſign to murther all that did not ſide with them, and the like, there might *Aliquid humani intervenire*, paſſion then might have ſilenced reaſon, and tranſported them to do what in a ſerene calm conſideration they would judge monſtrous and cruel;

but to give time to their indignation to breath out it ſelf, to give ſpace for mediations from Court to propitiate their anger, and to ſleep upon it twelve or thirteen weeks, and after all this to murther them, argues the implacablenesſe of their malice, *ſtrong as death*, and *cruell as the grave*, and gives a ſufficient taſte to the world what meaſures they are to expect from the *Puritans*, and the men of this *Faction*, if God have ſo little pleaſure in us, or his wrath wax ſo hot againſt us, as to deliver us up to their power: and if the infatuated abuſed world does after all this *yet* dote upon their hypocriſie, or promiſe themſelves, that there can be any goodneſſe, mercy, or compaſſion found amongſt them: let them but conſider how *Fiennes* and his *Brethren in evill* perpetuate their cruelty from the Husband to the Wife, and from the Parents to their Children; after they had purſued theſe Innocents to death, and by that had made two diſconſolate Widows and ſeventeen poor Fatherleſſe-children; on a poſthume a man would have thought that the effuſion of Innocent blood, the diſtreſſed condition of Widows and Orphans would have wrought ſome remorſe in them, at leaſt to have bemoaned their own rage with *Lamech*, *We have ſlain men to our wounding, and innocent men to our hurt*; or elſe indeavoured to make ſome recompence to thoſe diſconſolate ſoules which they had left behind them: No, as if they had done God good ſervice in peſecuting the Fatherleſſe and Widows and ſuch as had no helper; having murthered theſe men, they oppreſſe their Widows & Fatherleſſe-children: Miſtris *Hazard*, *a zealous Siſter reſolves, That it's pitty but that their childrens brains ſhould be daſhed out againſt the ſtones, that no more of their race might remain on the face of the earth*: and if we conſider how *Fiennes* hath dealt with the Widows and

their

their children, you would not think Mistris *Hazard* singular in this opinion. Mistris *Yeamans* had eight children when her Husband was murthered, the eldest not able (as I told you before) to dresse it self without help, and was now great with the ninth, and though they had seized on his estate to a very great value, yet they put the poor widow to redeem the smal remainder (in comparison of the rest) at no lesse then 500l.

Mistris *Bowcher* had seven children, and though her Husband had lost above 2000l in this action, yet they seize upon the rest as forfeited to them: and make her enter into bond with a Surety ingaged with her, not to take any thing out of her house without an especiall Warrant from them: And that the world may see how unlimited a power we are like to groan under, if the Rebells should prevail, They banish Master *Bowchers* Eldest sonne *John Bowcher* (a young man of good hopes) a stay of the Mothers age, and one who might be a comfort to her and a help to his Bothers and Sisters: him they doome to exile in *France* or *Spaine*, not to return untill recall'd by order of both Houses: two Sureties being bound in a bond of a hundred pounds that he shall submit to the sentence and depart the Kingdom, which tyrannicall Ordinance was obeyed, the young man (as we are credibly informed from thence) being shipt for his banishment on the 19 of *June* last:

And as they are mercilesse themselves, so they awe those that would shew mercy to these disconsolate families, so that they dare not: I have seen a Letter written from one of the Widows to a friend of hers, wherein she bemoans her condition, and bewailes that more then *Turkish* oppression under which she and her poor Orphans suffer; take the Widows complaint in her own words, *My friends stand afarre off, they pitty but dare not help me, give me your advice*

by the next what I were beſt to do; I know not what to aske, nor of whom, wanting friends to direct me, none daring to viſit me, or hardly to ſpeak to me or mine for fear of trouble and danger: See here, and wonder, in this populous City, this poor forſaken Widow finds none to comfort or aſſiſt her, ſhe is inforced to ſend abroad, and implore advice and counſell from them that dwelt a hundred miles from *Briſtoll.*

Good God! did theſe men (who would be thought to have all knowledge of the Scriptures to dwell with them) never read that of *Exod.* 22. *Ye ſhall not afflict any widow or fatherleſſe childe, if thou afflict them in anywiſe, and they cry at all unto me, I will ſurely hear their cry: And my wrath ſhall wax hot, and I will kill you with the ſword, and your wives ſhall be widows, and your children fatherleſſe?* and if we well conſider it, we ſhall find that God hath made good his word in this particular; It being an obſervation not more generall then true, that ſince to their ſins of *Treaſon and Rebellion*, they have added the *guilt of innocent blood*, together with *oppreſſion of their Widows and Fatherleſſe children*, God hath ſtill cut them ſhort, nor have they proſpered in any thing which they have undertaken:

ver. 22, 23, 24.

This then is the ſad condition of theſe miſerably oppreſſed Widows and their poor Fatherleſſe children, *Their Husbands murthered*, their *Children baniſhed*, their *Eſtates confiſcated*, themſelves *robb'd of all comfort* that might be adminiſtred from others.

And now if it be good (and *Solomon* ſayes it is) *to go into the houſe of mourning*, in your meditations, (at leaſt) turn aſide and afford a viſit on theſe diſtreſſed Families, that *water their couches*, and bathe themſelves in their own tears, and there is none to wipe them from their eyes: *here* you ſhall ſee plentifull matter whereon to exerciſe your compaſſions:

Eccleſ. 7 2.

paſſions: Mothers bewailing the fruit of their wombs, preferring barrenneſſe and dry papps before the teeming womb bringing forth children to ſuch miſery: *here* you ſhall ſee children drinking the tears which fall from their mothers eyes, and in a pious gratitude returning them again from their own: *here* are ſuch intercourſes of ſorrow, ſuch exchanges of tears, ſuch eccho's of mutuall lamentations, that if ever you will *weep with thoſe that weep, and mourn with thoſe that mourn*, it will be here:

And if *the heart of the wiſe be in the houſe of mourning* (as the ſame *Solomon* ſayes it is) certainly it cannot be wanting here: your *heart* will be *wiſe* chearfully to aſſiſt your gracious Soveraign, who hath no other intention in taking up Arms then to ſhake off this inſupportable yoak of bondage which theſe Rebells have put upon the neck both of Church and State: *It* will be *wiſe* to abhor that damnable Faction that ſtickt not to wade through a ſea of innocent blood to land at their own ends on the other ſide: *it* will be *wiſe* to rouſe up it ſelf to a juſt indignation againſt the actors of this bloody tragedy, and endeavour by all means poſſible to call them to an account for theſe horrid murthers: and laſtly, *it* will be *wiſe* to take the ſword of that uſurp'd *Militia* out of the hands of theſe mad-men that would uſe it to the deſtruction of the King and his faithfull Subjects: and to reſt ſecure (as heretofore) under the Kings protection; that ſo theſe two, together with Maſter *Tompkins* and Maſter *Chaloner* lately murthered in *London* for the ſame loyalty, may be the laſt names inrolled in the Catalogue of *State-Martyrs*. Eccleſ. 7 4.

But if all the world ſhould loſe their bowells of compaſſions, and paſſe by theſe Families without regard, as caring for none of theſe things, not *drawing out their ſouls*

to the afflicted; yet I have a double *Commission* to speak a word of Comfort to Mistris *Yeomans*, Mistris *Bowcher*, and to their *fatherlesse children*, and not only to them, but to all *such* that in this *cause* shall suffer the *like oppression*: and I doubt not but *they* that warranted me to make the promise, will in due time make it good, in despight of all those Malignants that would make comfort a stranger in their habitations.

My first *Commission* is from *God*, who hath promised to be nigh unto all those that are oppressed with wrongs: but most eminently and often hath he vouchsafed this promise to Widows and the Fatherlesse: *He is a Father of the fatherlesse and defendeth the cause of the Widows, even God in his holy habitation*; nay (sayes God) *Leave thy fatherlesse children to me, I will preserve them, and let thy Widows trust in me*? So sayes *God*, and so sayes the *King* too, Gods Vicegerent here on earth; from whom I have my second *Commission* to tell the world, *Leave these fatherlesse children to him*, He *will relieve them*, and *let these Widows relie on him*: As in many other things he is like his God (none that ever sate on this Throne more like him) so in this he will imitate the God of mercies, and doth ingage himself in the word of a *King*, That he will be a *Father to these and all such fatherlesse children*; *He will defend the cause of these and all such Widows*; and we doubt not but the time will come, and that very shortly, when these *Locusts that would have no King* being scattered, that of *Solomon* will become *Canonicall Scripture* again, *where the word of a King is, there is power*: In the mean time under this confidence, Let them *possesse their souls in patience*.

Psal. 68. 5.
Jer. 49. 11.
Eccles. 8. 4.
Job. 30. 23.

And though their dead cannot be recall'd again, the Iron Gate that leads *ad domum constitutam*, as *Iob* speaks, to

the

the houſe appointed for all the living; being barr'd up againſt them, which none but the power of the Reſurrection can open; yet right *pretious in the ſight of God*, the King, and all good men will the *death of theſe Saints be*: And though wicked men have gone about to ſully their memory with the odious names of Traytors and Conſpirators; yet when their own names ſhall rot and ſtink in the noſtrils of men, the memories of theſe Martyrs ſhall be embalmed with reſtitution of their own due honour, and their Names remain as *a precious oyntment powred out* with our poſterities for ever.

Thus, as the paſſionate *Levite* ſent the pieces of the diſſected body of his abuſed *Concubine* through all the Coaſts of *Iſrael*, that as one man they might ſtand up to revenge ſo barbarous a fact: ſo have I endeavoured to expoſe theſe murthered *Martyrs* to the view of all the world; being a fact, *quod orbis viribus expiari debuit*, as *Iuſtine* ſpeaks in another caſe, which calls for an expiation by the united ſtrength, if not of the world, yet of the Kingdom; not doubting but all that read this ſtory will conclude, as *Iſrael* did in *that* (with ſome ſmall change) *There was no ſuch deed done, nor ſeen, ſince the day that the Britiſh Nation was redeemed from Paganiſme unto this day*: CONSIDER OF IT, TAKE ADVICE, AND SPEAK YOUR MINDE.

Jud. 19.

Iuſt. de bello à Philippo Maced. in Phocenſes.

FINIS.

FINIS.